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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hiruci'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.* Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homa*ⁿᵃ (Missouri ?), Waxetcera, Iowa, and *Wadjabdjadjera*, the Oto. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

[727] While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[4]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As

[237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [*war feast*] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting

[203] council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[5] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[4] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 414] [5] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menomince led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vetrebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer. The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[1]

Fire making.—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

Tanning.—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted:[2]

> After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined leg, one end of which has been smoothed

[1] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[2] Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. IV, pt. II, pp. 240-241.

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CHAPTER VII

SYSTEM OF EDUCATION[1]

871 The Winnebago seem to have had a more or less formal system of instruction. This consisted of a series of precepts on different aspects of life, such as the duty of fasting, of being a warrior, of behavior to one's parents and relatives, how to treat one's wife and women in general, how to bring up children, how to behave to strangers, etc. These formal teachings were called *hak'i'ku*[2], which means "precepts" or "teachings." Doubtless those obtained do not constitute all the different types existing, but they seem fairly representative.

My Father's Teaching to His Sons and Daughters

System of Instruction to Son

867 776 787 My son, when you grow up you should see to it that you are of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you can begin to be of any aid to them, and that is to fast. So, my son, see to it that you fast. Our grandfather, the fire, who stands at all times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.[3] Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his blessings.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war chiefs, bless you. See to it that they pity you.[4] Some day when you go on the warpath their blessings will enable you to have specific foreknowledge of all that will happen to you on that occasion. This will likewise enable you to accomplish what you desire without the danger of anything interfering with your plans. Without the slightest trouble you will then be able to obtain the prizes of war. Without any trouble

[1] This chapter was originally intended for special publication and the notes prepared for it have been retained.

[372] [2] The fire (*hi'ne*) is regarded as a spirit by the Winnebago. As a spirit he possesses many gifts that are of use to human beings in their sojourn on earth, and in order to obtain them, mortals must make offerings of tobacco to him. He may also appear to them during their fastings and bless them with a number of powers. In addition to his other powers, it is believed that he is the messenger of Earthmaker and the other spirits and that he transmits both the messages, as well as the offerings that mortals make to them, by means of the smoke that rises upward. The old man speaks of the fire first, because being always around them it is a comparatively easy task to make offerings to it.

[3] This is the regular expression used for blessing. The idea seems to be that through fasting and crying you are to put yourself in a "pitiable" condition and that then the spirits, seeing your state, will pity you and grant you what you have asked. The word "grandfathers" is used in the sense of ancestral spirits, the thunderbirds, who are regarded as the dispensers of war power, not only by members of this clan but by all Winnebago.

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the man that, since he was without this particular thing, to keep it and use it for all time.

The public crier, a member of the Buffalo clan, was supposed to report to the chief early every morning and receive instructions. The crier would then go all around the village making the chief's desires known.

The chief had a representative at every council, generally his brother.

The chief of the village is a peacemaker, and if two members of the tribe ever get into difficulties (i. e., quarrel) he is supposed to intercede. If in a quarrel a person should be killed, the chief would go to the murderer and tell the latter to permit himself to be tied up—i. e., to give himself up to the relatives of the murdered man. If the murderer consents to do so, then his arms are tied behind him and the chief walks in front of him carrying his sacred pipe. Thus they would go to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives. When they got there the chief would extend the stem of the pipe toward them. They might refuse to accept the pipe thus extended, but if any member of the family, even if it be a small child, were to take a puff from it, then the murderer would be forgiven and turned free.

This is the capacity of a Winnebago chief.

Another description of the chief's rôle as intercessor for a murderer is as follows:

When the Thunderbird chief wishes to save a murderer they take one of their own chiefs, one who is well beloved, paint his back blue, and put sheaves in his back, to which they tie cards. Thus he is taken to the lodge of the murdered person's relatives. The chief, when he gets there, holds his pipe of tobacco in both hands. Should the relations not wish to accept the peace offering they close the door in his face. Then he returns.

The Thunderbird clan possessed a type of war club called a bald-headed war club, which was sacred to this clan alone, and a miniature of which was always buried with a dead body. The only other possessions were the clan war bundles. The Winnebago often speak as though each clan had but one of these palladiums, but there seems to be little doubt but that there were at least two and probably more in each clan. These war bundles must be regarded as the common possession of the clan at the present time, for they can not be alienated from the clan.[1] For all practical purposes, however, they are the private property of certain individuals or families.

Fire was considered a sacred possession of the Thunderbird clan. As mentioned before, an individual was supposed never to ask for a firebrand from the fire of any member of the clan and was never permitted to sit near such a fireplace. If, nevertheless, anyone should be immodest enough to ask for one of these objects, he would be refused, but he would be permitted to ask for any conceivable thing else. The following incident will serve as an example of the definite way in which this peculiar custom works. An old Winne-

[1] This point was very forcibly impressed upon the author when he tried to obtain the war bundle of a man who had become a member of the Peyote cult. The man was perfectly willing to part with it, but after repeated requests to those who happened to possess it at that particular time, he admitted that it belonged to the clan, although they could not have taken it away from him had he remained a believer in the old faith.

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bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi°xkirutega; ho-iwakita°ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair, Fat-one, Little-white-teeth, Diffident-one, Horn, Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck.

CLAN SONG.

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

WA HIK'IE'ARAHERA (DEER CLAN)

Teseph$\hat{o}$k'a.....Black deer chief.
Wagizena^{a}p'i^{a}ga.....Wears shells around neck.
Tcan$\hat{o}$ka^{a}p'i^{a}wings.....Deer vagina.
Mank'inga^{a}yega.....Appears in the middle of earth
Tcatconiwings.....First deer woman.

The Elk Clan

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth.

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one.

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference.

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46).

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 614 796 344

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them. [776 685]

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these chickens and make the general preparations. 796 614

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is their night, and then they go to sleep. [825]

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken. [773]

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. [782 796

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 614 537 372

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796 614 537 [374] you will deliver the requests I address to our grandfather-who-crawls (the snake), just as I have said them. I offer you tobacco.

"To you likewise, grandfathers, you whom Earthmaker created first and placed within the earth; you whom Earthmaker placed in control of abundance of life and whose war clubs were made heavy, so that nothing could miss them; to you we offer these things. Whatever [782] you can give us, we ask of you in return. Here are our offerings of food, tobacco, and eagle feathers. We place them here at your door. We ask that you bless us with victory in war. We know that the weapons you carry make you invulnerable, and we wish likewise to be invulnerable. You never fail to obtain what you desire with your clubs, and we ask that the same power be bestowed upon us. As the years pass may the blessing we obtain increase in power. When you look out upon the world life emanates from your eyes. May this life be given to our posterity. As we strut about in the short number of days allotted to us may you keep out of our path, so that we may not be frightened. Yet should we cross any of your paths may we be strengthened thereby. It is said that you are the grass, and that is why we ask you to bless us. Bless us because you are in possession of the life which we desire. For these reasons do we offer you tobacco, feathers, and food."

796 614 [782] Then the host poured tobacco into the four holes that he had made in the ground and placed feathers there. Then he took a little food from each of the kettles and poured it into the four holes. After that he greased the heads of the snake skins which were lying before him with kettle grease and poured tobacco on the heads of the snakes. He asked all his relatives to offer tobacco likewise and he put tobacco into the holes again and poured some upon the heads of the snakes.

When those invited have arrived, someone who is a good speaker sits near the entrance, while another good speaker sits near the farthest end. After all have entered, the leader of the four participants makes the circuit of the fireplace four times. He then sits down, and the host greets each one in turn, as follows:

796 614 537 "I greet you all. It is good. How could I say aught but that it is good! I am a poor worthless fellow, yet you have remembered me. It is good. You did not look upon my unworthiness and think within your hearts he is a worthless fellow, but you thought of the spirits, and therefore you came to sit with me so that I might see your face. It is good. I have obtained four chickens, and the attendant is now cooking them. I suppose he has cooked them by this time, and we will soon be able to eat them.

"I am attempting to cook water for the beings first created, so that we might be blessed with victory in war, and with life. That is what we are asking and what we would like to obtain from them before they (the spirits) retire for the night. It is our desire to be blessed year in, year out.

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The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

776 614 773 [776] Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

FIG. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for thunderer. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for herbs.

776 [604] [574 281] [586] 796 782 776 Inasmuch as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

796 782 [372 778] [1] This is a generalized account.

2. Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *waŋgeregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *maŋegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *maŋegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *waŋgeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn.

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcak'ɔ'ɔ* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan.

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found.

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcak'ɔ'ɔ* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit.

The Specific Possessions of the Clan.

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also

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[P. 149]

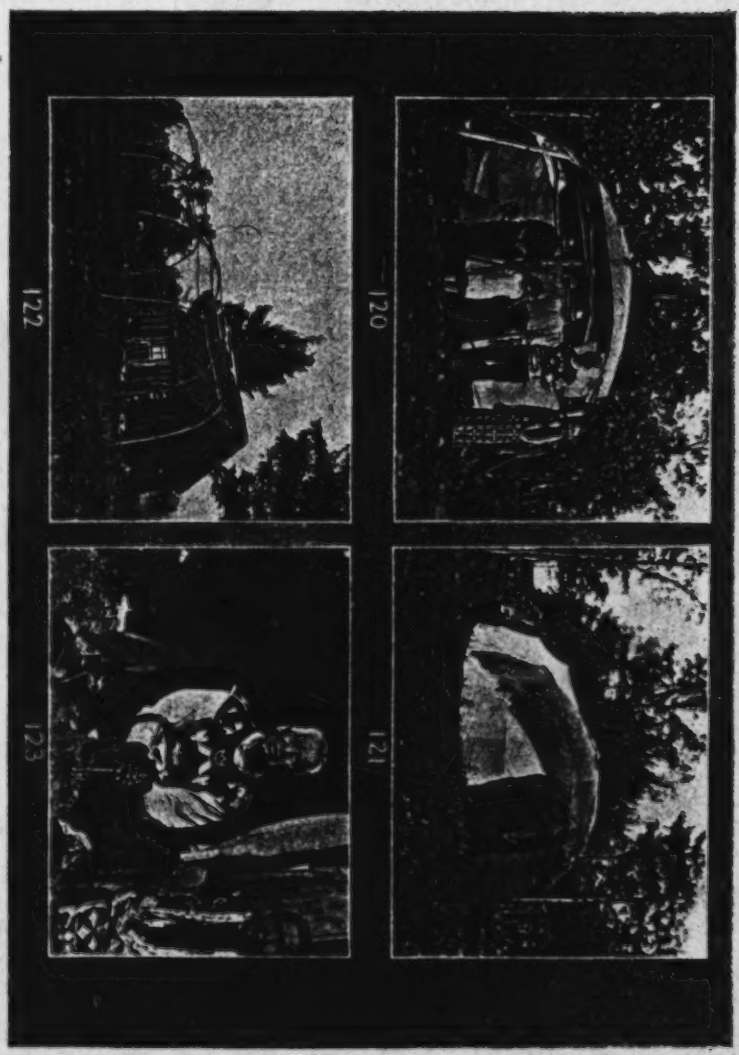

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FIG. 120.—Big Wave and his family standing before his house.
FIG. 121.—Medicine Lodge near Big Wave's home.
FIG. 122.—Framework of the War-bundle Ceremony lodge.
FIG. 123.—Big Wave making sacred fire, accompanied by his wife.

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people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family. It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle ceremony, in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teus-tcu-hc-de-ga* (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago. Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwaukee, that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds, who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly constructed of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats, or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore, only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes, and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire, saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children, and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life. This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed therefrom with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which, therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece would permit.

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat, was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

Names

made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, "I will have some beings live on the earth." So he made four more like himself. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—*Kunuga*, *Hcnuga*, *Hagaga* and *Nangiga*. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth.' So saying he opened the heavens in the place where they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out before them. He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send down with you," he added giving them a plant. "Even I shall never have the power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to you exclusively; but when, of your own free will, you make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." What he had given them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said, "All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits get some. And another thing I send with you that you may use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care of you throughout life, stand in the center of your dwellings, and be your grandfather." This was the Fire.

Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth. On their journey down *Kunuga*, the oldest of the four, said, "Brother, when we get to earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunderbirds*, if he is a boy." On and on they came, down toward the earth. As they got near the earth it began to get very dark and then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, I shall call her *Dark*." Then they came to a place called

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§7. *The Teachings of My Father*

My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake us up early in the morning and, seated around the fireplace, speak to us. The girls would be taught separately. Now this is what my father told me:

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My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings. Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war chiefs,[14] bless you. See to it that they have compassion upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles. Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

[14] Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.